/403 cont./

291 often feels annoying or uncomfortable to them. In the hut and in the canoe, at work and on the hunt, the man carelessly lets it fall by loosening the leather knot, and he feels better now than he did before. He wants to be entirely free for the goal he happens to be pursuing. The piece is durable, but it gets hard wear and is given no care at all. After only a few weeks it is shabby and torn at the edges, but the man drags it about for more than half a year (69).

69. The following authors mention this back cape of the men: Aspinall:270, Bove (e):157, Dabbene (b): 176, Hyades (p) :337, Lothrop (b) :121, Snow (a) :II, 16, Spegazzini (a) :161, and others.

291 Most of the men at all times and everywhere wear a cover-
•888 ing over the genitals which is somewhat larger than that worn by
834 the women. They prefer a smooth piece of leather from which the fur has been entirely removed. It is, of course, used only for the sake of decency. Nevertheless, some old men become so careless that they almost habitually go without it. When they sit or stand, their conduct betrays a certain bashfulness, it is true, but this feeling is no longer strong enough in them that they would go to the trouble of wearing a covering. The people generally do not like to see young or middle-aged persons completely naked, but no one dares to remonstrate with old men. Nevertheless, the latter, when they are sitting, take care that their nakedness does not offend the eyes of those present. Defiant nakedness is not approved on principle.

291 In olden times neither footgear nor any kind of foot cover-
177 ing was known. Whereas it was always lacking among the people of the Cape Horn region, as Hyades (q) :348 maintains (70), it was

70. Fitz-Roy (a) :138 in his day reported of the southern people that "neither men nor women have any substitute for shoes" /cited in English/.

probably only in recent times that regular sandals of guanaco and seal skins were adopted in the middle and eastern region. Some

/691 cont./
581 marital union with a suitable lifelong companion. If a child hesitates for an unduly long time, the Yamana regard it as an impropriety on the part of the parents.

587 The reasons for an early marriage of young people are also of
589 paramount importance for widowed persons. The duty of a widow to marry has arisen chiefly out of solicitude for her children. Hence "as soon as a man dies, his wives are married to others" /cited in English/ (Bridges /692/ in MM:III, 117;1869). As a result, "There are very few single women, not one among a hundred" /cited in English/ (ibid.) (105). Extraordinary reasons prevent a new marriage.

> 105. With this statement Bridges (a):203 to a certain extent corrects an earlier assertion: "Owing to the almost general practice of polygamy, many men are without wives, and live so all their days. And owing to the general practice of giving young women to oldish men, the young men frequently can get no wives but relicts" /cited in English/.

589 Modern times have changed a great deal of this, for they have,
178 in part, considerably altered even the conditions of life. On February 2, 1878, Bridges (i):17 reported from Yendegaia: "Widows did not long continue so; in fact, a single adult man or woman was a rarity. But with the march of civilized life marriage becomes less necessary and more difficult, and the number of single men and women increases" /cited in English/. At present, there are so few Yamana living that everyone is married; sometimes there is even a young man with an aged wife, because he has no other choice. Only old Flora has been alone for a long time; she is regarded as hard to get along with.

732 A factually insignificant supplementary statement from Bridges
589 (i):21 is added here: "Though deaf or dumb men never married, unless it were an old woman, a deaf woman would be a wife and have children -- the men remained single because usually no woman would marry such" /cited in English/.

589 What has been said about young persons and those of middle age
● 888 does not apply to old people. Since they no longer have their

/692 cont./

589 strength, they could not do full justice to the tasks incumbent on
888 them by the division of labor and would thus be more of a burden than a help in life with a marriage partner. Hence they forgo another marriage and try to find refuge in the hut of one of their relatives where they can be included in the daily routine without trouble. Sometimes they continue to run their own households. "Older women whose husbands have died exercise quite firmly all the rights of the head of the family. Even when they live alone, they always have with them a few children or grandchildren who are absolutely obedient to them" (Hyades [g]:35) (106). Aside

> 106. Bridges' (i):14 diary entry of July 2, 1872, sounds almost the same: "The lives of the old women who have been reported as the usual victims of cannibalism, were as sacred as those of any other persons, because they had sons and daughters, nephews and nieces, younger brothers and sisters, who felt as such towards them, and none dared to suggest their deaths" /cited in English/.

from the good influence they have, they are still at times helpful in economic life. "The old women, by the way, are by no means as useless as is assumed in the tale [of their being done away with during a famine]; their experience makes them definitely appreciated in obtaining food, as well as in other household tasks, and not at all infrequently young people would rather marry an experienced older woman than a young girl even though she is prettier" (ibid). The woman herself finally decides, according to her situation and character, whether she will go on living as a widow or marry again at an advanced age.

182 /693/ The arbitrary assertions of certain Europeans have given a distorted picture of marital conditions among the Yamana. Neither Darwin nor Bove fulfilled the requirements which would entitle them to judge an arrangement as difficult to investigate as marriage is. They did not even admit to themselves that the conditions they describe are unnatural; had such conditions really developed, the people would have been driven in mad haste to complete destruction.

/802 cont./

622 single person with legal authority at the head of the whole tribe or the individual groups. Here we do not even have the institution of the kemál of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 423).

692 627 Similarly there is no authoritative judge over all the people; everyone must seek his own justice. He finds aid and support among his circle of kinsmen in cases of legal disputes. The settlement of a dispute is determined more or less by club law. Everyone is dependent upon himself and his nearest kinsfolk for his defense, for, as Despard (b):716 assures us, "in Fireland is no king or magistrate. All men have equal rights and equal wrongs" /cited in English/. Decisions are, of course, not always just, and the absence of a non-partisan public authority based on legal principles damages character and weakens the sense of justice. Many inequalities with serious consequences develop on this foundation. Stirling has mentioned some of them: "This absence of chieftainship gives the violent spirits a better social position than they deserve, and a more dangerous sphere. It is left to individuals to avenge wrongs, at least for the most part; the strength and composure of a defined public opinion, vindicating right and proceeding to punish the wrong-doer are only exceptionally known. The law of the strongest prevails" /cited in English/ (MM:IV, 34; 1870).

It is to their own advantage that this Fuegian population is peacefully inclined. Outbreaks of violence in cases of legal disputes always affect /803/ only small circles and even this is infrequent. Among most of them an honest effort to be righteous and to observe tribal customs largely prevails. Infractions of the general feeling of justice and violations of the freedom of others seldom occur.

554 888 Among the Yamana there is no superior authority appointed by law, either for the entire tribal community or for smaller groups. There are always certain men, however, who, as a result of their advanced age and blameless character, their long experience and mental superiority, have a moral influence of such importance that it amounts to positive control (235). Thus

235. Fitz-Roy (a):178 realized: "There is no superiority of one over another, except that

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acquired gradually by age, sagacity, and daring conduct" /cited in English/. Hyades (j):184 later supplemented this: "They definitely recognize superiority in morality and intelligence, but this superiority is admitted only within a small circle of friends and does not give rise to domination, which would be neither coveted nor supported by anyone" /translated from French/.

a tiámuna, as he is called, does not occupy a position like that of the kemál of the Selk'nam who is the man of authority for all who belong to the same, definitely circumscribed local group. Nevertheless, the members of a wider circle of kinsfolk listen to the word of their tiámuna, submit to his instructions, bow to his judgment, and even accept his warnings. Like a sincere friend of his immediate family and like a venerable patriarch in a larger circle, he guides and leads by means of good words all those who willingly yield to his influence or could not easily avoid it. He is a conscientious promoter of the old order and a steadfast champion of the good customs of former times. The mere example he sets is stronger than his words. He makes his opinion known with careful consideration and with the best intentions for the welfare of the individual as well as the harmony of the group as a whole, without assuming sovereign rights nor curtailing anyone's personal freedom.

The veneration universally shown to aged, model persons does not make it difficult for anyone to yield to the judgment or the instruction of the tiámuna in an individual case (236). Actually

236. Agreeing with several other observers, Hyades (g):35 assures us that "the old men enjoy great influence and a kind of veneration.

no one strives for this privileged position, nor is it hereditary. It is their trust in him that makes several younger people or an entire circle of kinsfolk submit to a particular elder as though he were their uncrowned headman.

/829 cont./

make his demands impressive. A person who has held this office before is preferred, because it requires a thorough knowledge of many details which are not familiar to everyone. It also demands all kinds of physical exertion, which cannot be expected of a weak old man. A person to whom this position is offered probably never refuses it, for it is an honor, and in the position of ulastekuwa one feels raised above all the participants.

Almost always another man takes part, besides the leader of the entire performance mentioned above, whom I should like to call "overseer" (252). He presents a dignified appearance, is

252. In this respect it corresponds to the men's ceremony of the Selk'nam, where there are also two directors. There, however, they are chosen for this position according to a definite rule (Vol. I, 829).

usually an old man, and enjoys great veneration on the part of all, if only because of his age. Not only does he have this moral superiority, but it is customary for even the leader to be subordinate to him. He is not directly concerned with the day-by-day procedure of the celebration and the organization of the daily work or with the tasks and work performed by adults and candidates. These are the duties of the leader. His chief duty is to see to it that the leader is not guilty of negligence or a change in the existing order, and he sometimes discusses with him in private what, in his opinion, should be particularly emphasized and considered, what should be omitted or shortened, how this or that should be handled. Thus he appears as the lawful guardian of ancient custom and as the devoted custodian of the youth initiation as a valuable tribal heritage (253).

253. Lothrop (b):168 has this to say about the two offices: "From their number they [the oldest and experienced of the men present] chose one who was both respected and well liked to be the master of ceremonies. Another they selected as the official instructor of the candidates" /cited in English/. Perhaps these data were given him by the natives.

/865 cont./

X881 867 unified order, if he functions in close alliance with his countrymen and does not disturb community life through personal errors. A far-reaching, uniform molding of young people therefore is one of the requirements of education. The common instruction serves this purpose. Actually, all young people, without exception and irrespective of sex, are sooner or later obliged to undergo this protracted event. It gives each of them a uniform stamp, the heritage of previous generations, and pledges them to the rules of conduct and the manners which have hitherto upheld tribal life and guaranteed peaceful community living. As we have said, every u͡fwʃala is trained primarily to become a useful, valuable member of the tribe.

X881 867 888 554 Instruction is not given individually, but to the whole group of candidates simultaneously. The teacher is a man of years, usually a venerable old man who acts in this capacity either from choice or at the invitation of the leader and the overseer. Sometimes one of these two men occupies this post, if circumstances demand it. In any case the teacher, known as u͡fwʃala kinâna, is always an estimable personality demanding respect, of irreproachable character and perfect moral conduct, of mental superiority and acknowledged uprightness, well versed in the law of the tribe and exemplary in valiant manly deeds. Only a person who can honestly boast of many good characteristics will venture to face the young people as their teacher. He need not fear that he himself will give the lie to the admonitions that he offers them. They have an effect on the u͡fwʃala that is all the more lasting because such a teacher stands before them as the embodiment of the accepted requirements.

X881 867 888 537 His words flow with the deepest seriousness and out of innermost conviction. He prepares himself for his speech with a long period of self-communion, and in thoughtful deliberation on one afternoon or another he prepares in his mind the precepts that he feels impelled to present. When the manual work is finished and the participants are also inwardly at rest as they silently squat in their places, when night has spread her black veil over nature and there is deathly stillness round about, the teacher gives a sign. The candidates rise from their places and squat in a semicircle in front of him. They listen to his words with a serious mien and rapt attention. He speaks with the gentle sincerity and the perceptible

/865 cont./

warmth of a well-meaning adviser, with paternal anxiety for the future well-being of the individual and for the future of the whole tribe. During his /866/ simple discourse, all those present listen in complete silence to his soft voice, which deeply moves them, each word searching the conscience of the adults also. His warnings and exhortations to young and old sound like the last will and testament of a man who is standing at the end of life and looking back upon a career devoted to duty.

Such addresses were the most consecrated hours that I spent each evening during my first initiation. They are truly an experience for every youthful uľwĵala also, and they do not forget them even in old age. For the rest of their lives, they preserve as their most precious treasure whatever has flowed into their souls during such a solemn hour as the greatest spiritual gift from the heart and soul of the teacher. Individual adults were able to repeat perfectly and with undiminished freshness the teachings which had been presented to them when they were uľwĵala. Again these Yoegiam prove to be excellent students of the psychology of youth and first-rate educators.

Formerly the teacher addressed his words to the uľwĵala two or three times a week and never longer than an hour, although he speaks slowly and often repeats. "Too much talking tires the candidates!" old Alfredo told me in this connection. At my first initiation he took turns with the venerable Whaim, so that every evening we were given instruction by one or the other. Afterwards he told me: "This time the [illegible] was short, and that is why we were obliged to assemble you uľwĵala every evening for the teaching, so that we could tell you everything (284). In

284. He wished to apologize because he and Whaim took up our time each evening. This was contrary to the earlier custom which left time for contemplation.

former times a day was left in between (285). The uľwĵala are

285. This means that the two or three addresses by the teacher were, with interruptions, spread over a period of about a week.

/888 cont./
They are content to have helped a neighbor and thus to have enhanced their good reputation. Incidentally, however, they provide for themselves a guarantee of being helped in like manner by their fellow-tribesmen.

The above virtues are practiced not only by kinfolk and friends among themselves; the ú'wɛ́ala are also emphatically taught to show them toward strangers. They give specific reasons for this, not the least of which is that strangers will express themselves in laudatory fashion among their own people about those persons who have been helpful and friendly toward them. They also consider the fact that new arrivals in unfamiliar territory find it incomparably more difficult to help themselves or find their way around than in their home region.

This is naturally linked with the general and surprisingly strict demand for courtesy. We Europeans with our self-exaltation would scarcely suspect this virtue among such much maligned savages! Nevertheless the attention of the ú'wɛ́ala is specifically drawn to the proper way to sit. One should be particularly polite to visitors; least of all is one permitted to start a quarrel with them. With a gentle gesture they are invited to sit down in a favorable place and to take whatever happens to be roasting in the fire.

Courtesy extends to respect for everything that is old. Esteem for the customs of the tribe and the entire body of tradition must come from the heart of every Yamana. Accordingly, he is very punctilious about this and avoids any adverse criticism. Even when no one notices him, he lives according to the custom of his ancestors. He hands /889/ it on to his children and emphatically defends it among his fellow-tribesmen. In recent times, if Europeans presume to disparage mockingly this or that convention, the Yamana usually has no defense against the insult but to get away from the audacious offender in obvious haste.

It is not enough to hold the traditional institutions, principles, ideas, and conceptions in high esteem; a very special form of respect is no less due aged people of both sexes. Young people must be quiet and reserved in their presence, yield to their decisions without contradiction, and show greater willingness to serve them immediately. It would be very insulting to ridicule

1: Gaskin---715 S-G (1919-1924) 1937 1958 Telgas 5196

them, to laugh at their helplessness, and to express oneself impatiently about their strange behavior. The words and advice of the elders merit extra consideration on the part of young people.

Only a person who through constant training has achieved a certain amount of self-control is capable of practicing all these rules of conduct. This favored virtue is recommended in its most diverse aspects. The Tarumo demand that everyone control his appetite and his garrulousness, that he suppress his fits of rage and impulses toward hostility, that he conduct himself modestly in front of visitors and in a friendly manner toward strangers, that he patiently bear the boring behavior of an aged nurse-caller and occasional disturbances by strange children or strange dogs. Women and girls should be restrained in their behavior and above all keep their eyes in check. They should be faithful to their lawful husband even if he has long since deviated from the right course.

Only a few of the principles of conduct from the rich spiritual treasure of the Tarumo have been assembled here. Many others can be taken directly from the wording of the instructions to the disciple. The ones given will suffice, however, to show the superior level of Tarumo wisdom in education (H.B).

> 910. The teachings and educational principles that have been set forth in these pages agree very well with the unfortunately brief account from the pen of Reverend T. Bridges in 1861 (p. 841).

4. Application of a Few Principles. Everything in the way of directions and admonitions that the teacher and many other persons offer the candidates surprisingly sound very fine. The Tarumo are not content with that, however, and so capable educators of youth, they demand that as much of this as possible be forthwith put into action and practiced. They begin doing this even in the [illegible] hut.

The amazingly severe exercises of self-discipline which are binding on the disciple consist of unbroken silence, a motionless sitting posture, constant reflection, the forbearance to overcome hunger and weariness, and willingness to listen to all requested

/1008 word/

or classmen of a murdered or dead person be neglect or dismemberment of him when living" /tried to English/. Bridges (Vol.III, 153,1978) furnished an account of a noteworthy occurrence. "There was a man named Kheiyan. This man had to wife the two sisters of Imamaligaa, and as a consequence the two men were much together. But Kheiyan was often weary of his dull and unattractive brother-in-law, and was often unkind to him. All very well so long as the man lived, but no sooner is he killed than his connections count up his grievances, and visit with punishment, more or less severe, those who in past times have been specially unkind. Kheiyan was in this way called to account, and in hopes of escaping, fled away from the places or resort of them he had occasion to fear" /tried to English/. However, this one example shows how the conduct and speech of the individual are closely watched and long remembered. The Tamana never forgets an injuries due he has suffered directly or indirectly.

The persons of more advanced age, men and women, are consciously or unconsciously regarded as the representatives and supporters of universal justice and traditional customs. They are shown respect and veneration on all sides. Even Fire-Boy (p).138 learned that "much respect is said to be paid to age" /tried to English/. The more distinguished and conscientious an old man is, the more he is esteemed, the more willingly /1007/ does one defer to him. This is also true of older women whose words and advice even young men in a large gathering take seriously. No one would have the audacity to interrupt an old person or to contradict him (443). Quite the contrary, everywhere the old people

> 443. Fire-Boy (p).178 writes: "In each family the word of an old man is accepted as law by the young people; they never dispute his authority" /tried to English/. This applies also to every casual group made up of several families.

have the prerogative, when the food is passed around they are served first, the most agreeable place in the hut is left free for them, in their presence the younger people behave incompletely

/1977 vers./

•KI and speak only in a low voice. KO Obi is proof of the respect which is shown them. A very experienced and upright old man fairly embodies the law of custom and tradition. He is, therefore, a living example and a common admonition for the younger titled members.

5. General Welfare

KW A death or an accident on the one hand, sickness or physical disability on the other, can cause a person who is close serious difficulty in case there is no definite person to come to his aid. The public knows that it is now duty-bound to come to his rescue, and in doing so it follows a certain course of action which has been accepted since ancient times.

KW KW Every human society counts among its members, temporarily or permanently, old persons with the infirmities of age. They are no longer capable of acquiring their subsistence singlehanded. They must be cared for, according to the strict custom of the Tonsea, by their own children, as well as by their nearest relatives and the neighbors who happen to be present. When it comes to fulfilling this duty, there are no degrees of responsibility. In fact everyone is enjoined to look after an aged person who is staying near his hut. The old person is perfectly never left completely alone, except perhaps temporarily because of urgent work. Usually one of the grown children constantly takes the widowed parent along on his own trips. If both parents are still living, they always stay together; they are often visited by their children who cheerfully fulfill their needs for food and clothing, firewood and such. Ojeden (2) 5H says: "Adults have due respect for their parents and old people are never badly treated" /translated from French/. It is also said, "They are cared for and fed until their death" /translated from French/ (Le Roux 51), and Dupont (5) 69 avers that "children care for parents and grand-parents with kind consideration" /cited in English/. As long as a person has the strength, he helps himself, otherwise he must accept duty of his children and friends. As Bridges (2) 55 explains, "grown-up children are expected to support their parents when they become aged. She was generally guided by father, if he is par with, a canoe every /1936/ season, and if the aged man is a

/5098 cont./

•337 widower he lives entirely under the charge of his eldest son"
137 /cited in English/ (944). Normally some children are more tender

> 444. This hardly agrees, however, with what he (p):388 adds soon after: "The aged are often much neglected, yes, cruelly treated, and I have heard of cases where by their own children they have been killed, to get rid of the trouble of keeping them" /cited in English/. A person who is displeased with the treatment he receives from his own children easily finds refuge with relatives and friends.

and loving toward their aged persons than others. A person who no longer has any children of his own joins a related family or friends. This much is certain, no one is abandoned because of his infirmities. I personally repeatedly witnessed the willing care given even those persons whose lot in old age was a long, burdensome invalidism.

137 The nearest relatives and all the neighbors no less attentively care for a sick person. There are no medicines in Tierra del Fuego. They keep the sick person company and never leave him in some place all by himself. Hyades (d):207 and (p):331 repeatedly assure: "The sick are not abandoned, and the feeble are helped" /translated from French/. Bridges (b):209 agrees: "The infirm are well cared for, especially by the women" /translated from Spanish/, and elsewhere (j):14 he says even more explicitly: "Great consideration was shown to the sick, they were well attended and so far as possible their wishes were fulfilled. The nursing chiefly fell to the lot of the women" /cited in English/. RD:427 even gives the special expression, tacuaiku, "to often visit as a man his sick friend" /cited in English/. If their own child is seriously ill, the helpless parents are in actual despair; adults, too, are deeply affected by the physical suffering of one of their loved ones.
132 For decades old Whaite has been totally blind. It is touching to see the help and attention which his own daughters bestow on him, as do old and young in the neighborhood. Everyone is concerned about him, and one competes with another in loving service for him. It

/1028 cont./

732 was really superfluous to teach us uwʷala in the cíxaxa how we were to take care of him.

736 Elsewhere (p. 514) the concern of the public for orphans has been described in detail. The orphaned boy, wʷiakiya, as well
597 as the orphaned girl, wʷiakiyakipa, remains with the surviving parent until the latter marries again. Bridges (a):202, 183 correctly asserts: "If the father of a woman is dead, the mother has the right of disposal...If the mother dies, the little one soon finds a foster-mother, by whom considerable affection is shown" /cited in English/. The nearest relatives, too, in particular the so-called adoptive mother, adakutíruwaxipa, keep an eye on the orphans. If a nursing infant loses its mother, it is reared by another woman who gladly undertakes this service (445). Thus there is not the

> 445. The Yamana women, as Hahn (a):806 reports, "often rear foster children who do not belong to them, but the child is then regarded as their own and owes them the obedience and respect of an actual child" /translated from French/.

slightest doubt about the rearing of every orphan, which is assured.

• 811 /1029/ It is probably unnecessary to refute once more, as a figment of the imagination, the opinion circulated by Darwin in his day about the fate of old women. Bridges (k):235 undertook to do this decades ago: "The tales that have been spread about their killing old women who were unable to work are pure fables. These old women had as much security as other individuals as the tribe, for they had children and grandchildren who certainly would have defended them against any assault" /translated from Spanish/. Hyades (g):35 has made clear how valuable they can still be to the entire tribe: "The old women are by no means as useless as [Darwin's] story presupposes; their experience makes them decidedly valuable in securing food, as well as in the other household tasks, and it is not at all rare that young people prefer to marry an experienced older woman rather than a young girl, even though she is prettier. Older women whose husbands are dead very definitely exercise all the rights of a family head; even when they

1: Gusinde--944 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 S116 Yahgan S116

/1929 cont./

• 887 live alone, they always have a few children or grandchildren with them who are absolutely obedient to them." In common with reliable observers, I, too, have denied the false accusation of cannibalism among the Yamana (p. 252 /untranslated/).

It is often said that it is customary among them to strangle certain people who are dying (446). Early in 1863 young Bridges

446. It is known that the same assertion was made against the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 480), but they themselves energetically denied it.

(VSA:X,171,1863) first wrote about this: "Oskokko gives me a sad account of some of the Fuegian tribes. It is a practice with some when a man is very ill, and likely to die, to cut his time short in a violent manner, and kill his young children by suffocating them. But some of the tribes, he says, are very good to the sick, and show much commiseration for their pain" /cited in English/. Later he (e):320 relayed his opinion about this to a number of Europeans and said very emphatically: "Old and hopelessly sick persons were seldom done away with before their natural end; when the faculties of speech, sight, and movement were lost and if the case was of long duration, then the dying person was strangled, and thus the end was hastened for him and his family in a merciful manner." Later he (h):209 and (i):14 repeats the same thing: "The Yahgans occasionally hastened the end of their relatives by strangulation. This was kindly meant and there were good reasons for it. It was only resorted to in cases of long continued unconsciousness and utter weakness, preceding death, when the dying person neither ate nor drank, spoke nor moved. The act was done openly and with the consent of all except that of the victim, who was too inanimate to do anything. This act was called tahocana and it was done to any class of person in the above hopeless condition, either man or woman" /cited in English/. This spelling, tahocana, is probably a mistake; in BD:204 it is given /1930/ correctly as tatahkin, "to kill any person or animal which is sick and in pain in order to put him out of his misery" /cited in English/. Martial: 206, as well as Hyades (p):333, (q):39, and (s):135 have accepted this opinion from Bridges. The latter does not in any form mention

/1141 cont./

538 much more than others. The differences between one storyteller and another lies in the manner of portrayal, the choice of words, the heartfelt participation in the content of the story. It is, of course, inevitable that now and then some good old soul will relate a long chapter out of his life or repeat an experience to the assembled neighbors although he has almost no gift for story-telling and is more boring than entertaining. We Europeans call it a sign of senility when some old man tells something for the hundredth time that everyone knows by heart or exaggerates the importance of minor details for which others cannot work up any interest. Just such things happen among our Foegians and are no less correctly judged by younger persons than they are among us, but their extreme veneration of old people obliges them to listen attentively and to bear it steadfastly, no matter how much self-control they are obliged to exert. There are specific admonitions to the young along these lines, and everyone observes this obligation.

538 The general remarks that I have set down here are for the most part applicable almost literally to the practices and conditions prevailing among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 560).

I personally recall with great pleasure and satisfaction many a gay gathering on one evening or another when I joined the Foegians in a smoke-filled hut. The faintly flickering fire would blaze up now and then and show the attentiveness written on the faces of all present. Enthusiastically we listened to the animated words of the storyteller, completely lost in the kingdom of myth, unmindful of the storm that was vigorously shaking the loose parts of the little hut, heedless of /1142/ the hour far beyond midnight. When finally the company broke up, everyone crept out of the storyteller's hut refreshed and enriched with new thoughts and was swallowed up by the night. If Kaus happened to be shining down from heaven, a knowing old man would insist on pointing his finger at this or that star, repeating its name, and characterizing its personality. Their brilliance illuminated the short distance to each Yamana's hut, and in his dreams the figures from the world of legend would stand before his paltry bed. Now and then a day ends in this way, which makes every Foegian happy.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

536 wound wife. Desertion was more frequent on the man's part than on the woman's.

538 The aged were, according to all dependable evidence, usually respected, well treated, and well cared for. Neither abandonment or killing of the aged was ordinarily practiced but may have occurred in exceptional cases.

G21 Political life.—Over and above the biological family there was no closely organized larger group or constituted authority. There were no clubs, secret or other societies, or social classes, and no chiefs or ruling group or caste of any kind. Each biological family was for most practical purposes a sovereign political unit. The sense of individual independence was deep. No man took or brooked orders

535 or dictation from any other. However, aggressive individuals of personal force and strength, especially if they had powerful kin backing, at times dominated. Older men of recognized intelligence and integrity exercised considerable moral influence.

G12 The next group to the biological family was the kinship group, mostly a paternal one. The members gave mutual aid where called for, particularly in feuds and in blood-revenge activities. The kinship group, owing to common patrilocal residence, was partly, but not fully localized.

G19 The five regional divisions of the Yahgan, each with its distinctive dialect, had very slight political significance. Members of one division were usually chary of trespassing, at least for long, upon the territory of any other division, unless there were a recognized good cause, such as grave shortage of food, partaking of a stranded whale, trading, gathering canoe bark or fire-making materials.

G21 Each of the five dialectic regions was broken up into local groups, each of which appears to have been composed, mostly at least, of members related by blood or marriage (Koppers, 1898 b, p. 5). Each such local group had its own territory—that of Ushuaia, for instance, occupied 30 miles (50 km.) of coast line on Beagle Channel—and its own name derived from its locality. Like the dialectic groups,

G20 these local groups had no chiefs. The local group's chief function

G31 was that of holding the *klaxaus* initiation rite. The leader chosen therefor had authority only so long as the rite lasted. As the *klaxaus* rite was an educational device contributing greatly to social conformity and solidarity, the local group's political function was chiefly an indirect pedagogical one. Loyalty to fellow members of a local group existed, but was not as strong as that to one's own kinship group.

G25 There was no organized process of judicial procedure. In case

G40 of murder, the victim's kin took blood revenge on the murderer or his kin, or settled with him or them by composition. At times such kinship feuds led to a sort of pitched battle, in which slings,